

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses
• [83] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high
[157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct,
562 attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassar society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

521 /195 cont. / and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in
general use. Elsewhere,
people denied knowledge of
their existence. Neverthe-
less, a report of these questions
and answers seems to be in
place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great im-
portance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older
one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride
learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen,
suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman con-
cerned are not related to each other, the older people establish
contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough
of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and
younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not
interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?"
And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the
[831] young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not
be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the
bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off
shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at
this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him
"my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is
mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the
idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

Gorontalo 064
Java OE1
Makassar 066●

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776 and earth, between the gods and man, was a very busy one. By
772 means of high mountains, lianas, and rattan, man was able to
[773] reach the dwelling of the gods. Everything in heaven is beautiful and sparkling, but otherwise life there is like life on earth. It is noteworthy, however, that it is easy to deceive the gods. For example, one can make them believe that a pig or a buffalo is being given as an offering when in reality one is offering something paltry.

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776 Apart from the demigods there are also mountain, sea, and tree gods or spirits. Mountain gods are chiefly volcano gods.

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776 In Minahasa every volcano is inhabited by a god, to whom
[782] human sacrifices are made. This was also the case on Java, especially in connection with Brāmā. The Brāmā festivals are still celebrated every year, but without human sacrifices, of course. The disasters often caused by these volcanos led people to believe that the gods were the cause, and sacrifices were made to them in order to gain their favor.

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776 Sacrifices are also made to the sea gods on most of the islands.
782 Persons who look for edible bird nests on the southern coast of Java bring offerings to the sea goddess Njai (or Ratoe) Lārā Kidoel, a goddess who is mentioned as early as the Javanese chronicles.

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776 [194] In southern Celebes a sea god is revered under the sign
532 of a linga and a yoni (representations of human genitals). The name of this god is Karaeng Lowé, "Great Lord." This cult is
● [83] perhaps of Hindu origin or of animistic origin influenced by Hinduism. The inhabitants expect everything from Karaeng Lowé, for he is almighty and able to give life and happiness and also to destroy them. There is no question of one god here, but each area has its Karaeng Lowé.

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776 The Indonesians have many tree gods or spirits, although they are of even lower rank than the demigods mentioned above. If people hinder them or go through their territory, they do only evil. One can protect oneself against their evil by means of amulets, and if one is made sick by such a spirit, he can be

- 562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not
like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stop-
ped; this I think was because he was about to say something
about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against
this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even
for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably
matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other
things the system changed. Friedericy includes some in-
formation on the seventeenth century radja here who would no
longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matri-
local custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the
system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that
they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on
the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make
trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness
is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
587 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
● 831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin.
It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and
not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried
women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower
or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble.
Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The
property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on
this matter. As for the relations between such families, they
are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own
family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They empha-
sized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that
perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark.

In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary.

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of

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The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys.

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Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f. 40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f. 48 more to bring the total to f. 88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc.

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One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice.

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Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f. 0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troupe of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam.

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I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry.

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to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles. 565

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do." 592 183

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. 567

(2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned. Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things 797 831

797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
 831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if
 he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.

162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
 621 p. 198; category 116--Analyst]

STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

565 A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per house- hold	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners)	194
(included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	

Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads

Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government em- ployee (mes- senger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10